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## Portrayal of Pak Army in Leading Newspapers (Media - A catalyst for peace or cause of conflict)

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Abstract	Keywords
<p>The study focuses to analyze the Pakistan news media reporting of Army in the selected newspapers. The aim of the study Pakistani media framing of Army in general perspective of different cases like security wise coverage, interference in politics and foreign policy. It is essential to briefly discuss the history of Pakistan Army and the history of Pakistan media in national issues. The content analysis technique was used for collecting data. The two leading newspapers of Urdu and English languages, Daily Jang Rawalpindi, and Daily Dawn Islamabad were selected for the analysis. The results showed a positivity portrayal in Pakistani media coverage of the Army in both newspapers. Positive coverage was more dominant on security issues than the political issues. The daily Jang gave more Space than Daily dawn. Pakistan media was again supporting national interest, supporting the internal war of terrorism, and military cooperation of peace negotiations.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Pakistan Army,</li> <li>● News Media,</li> <li>● Security,</li> <li>● Politics.</li> <li>● Daily Dawn</li> <li>● Urdu and English languages</li> </ul>

### Introduction

This is an age of media and no one can deny the role of media in contemporary society. Since its beginning the media have particular agenda to follow and every media organization has its own agenda which defines the specific portrayal of any issue in many ways (Severin & Tankard, 1997). This study investigates the Pakistani media framing of Army in general perspective of different cases like security wise coverage, interference in politics and foreign policy. It is essential to briefly discuss the history of Pakistan Army and the history of Pakistan media in national issues.

Through an objective account of this issue may be an impossible task, the researchers would try their level best to remain impartial in order to reach the objective conclusion in the light of sound facts and arguments.

### **The role of Pakistan Army in national issues**

The army played an important role in the history of Pakistan and still the military forces are to play an important role in the defense of Pakistani and enable it to live with honor and dignity among the comity of nations. Since the end of British Rule and the establishment of Pakistan as an independent, democratic sovereign state, the Pak Army has been one of the country's most powerful institutions based on self-determination and commitment to the state independence (cited in Dawn newspaper February, 2009). The Pakistan Army had fought three main battles besides a limited dispute in Kargal with India after obtaining nuclear competences. In addition, there are some minor border clashes with Afghanistan. After the September 11 incident, a long-term intensity with the Afghan border was emerged to engage the Pak Army with the Taliban and al-Qaeda militants (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

### **Army and War on Terror**

The traumatic development of 9/11 impelled Pakistan to join the US sponsored War on Terror against its once strategic ally the Taliban in Afghanistan which eventually resulted backlash from home grown militant in FATA. The whole of the tribal areas engulfed in the flame of insurgency and Pak Army had to undertake major and minor operations against the menace of terrorism and militancy which resulted in to heavy casualties both in the men and material. Some of the major operations under taken by the Pak Army include Al-mezan, Rahe-e-Haq, Rah-e-Rast, Rah-e-Shahada, Rah-e-nijat Zarbe-e-Azab and ongoing Radd-ul-Fasaad. Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad is a combined code of a joint effort by the local support for fused and the secret operation aims to eliminate terrorism's risk (Siraj, 2008).

In April 1999, Pak Army under the command of General Musharraf undertook the Kargal adventure with the tacit support of Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. This operation resulted in to strong reaction from the Indian side who threatened to declare war on Pakistan. Thus, eventually Pakistan withdrew and it resulted in the emergence of difference between COAS and the Prime Minister on the appointment of General Zia u-din as COAS but the crop commanders refused to accept the PM decision and removed the democratic government. At that time General Musharraf was traveling back from Sri Lanka after an official visit. He assumed the command of the country and military rule was imposed in the country banning all political activities in the country. Mr. Nawaz Sharif was allowed to go abroad under a secret deal for ten years. General Musharraf introduced tailored type democratic reforms in the country but the west refused to accept him as the legitimate ruler and thus imposed renewed sanction on the country (Musharraf, 2006).

The twin tower attacks known as 9/11 resulted in the US invention of Afghanistan, and thus Pakistan was forced to join the US war on terror which was interpreted by the local militant as sell out and they declared war on the state of Pakistan. The first clash between the local militant lead by the Commander Nek Muhammad and Pak-Army occurred in WANA, South Waziristan in March 2004 and soon it engulfed the whole FATA and KPK. The deployment of the regular and paramilitary forces in the whole FATA resulted in heavy clashes which lead to the displacement of more than 3 million tribesman and heavy material and human losses (Ziring, 2003).

### **Consequence of Military Rule**

Owing to the weak political institution eventually paved the way for the Establishment mainly the Army to impose its role in the shape of Martial Law Headed by General Ayub Khan through bloodless coup in 1958. He formed Convention Muslim League which included Z.A. In which Benazir Bhutto (General Ayub's Foreign Minister), who later became the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. Tension with India flashed in the 1960s and because of the Indian aggression a short border clash was fought near Kolkata's run area in April 1965. On 6 September 1965, Indian army attacked Pakistan in the night and reached near Lahore, the whole nation defeated the crushing unit to step up the troops standing in the unit with the armed forces standing together with the draw of the armed forces. The war ended with the UN-backed war after the Tashkent Declaration. During 1968 and 1969 Yahya Khan, public discrimination against General Ayub Khan, took over the rule of the people during the rule of the people in 1969. As a result of the removal of his position as President and Commander, Chief, Army in favor of General Yahya Khan East Pakistan has a different political and economic distinction that was imposed on Western Pakistan and largely urban disadvantages, protesting against the lies in East Pakistan (Weekes, 1955).

Pakistan army was alleged for mass scale atrocities against the Bangladeshi population by the western media. The army under command of General Tikka Khan was able to crush the resistance of the local rebels mainly the Mukti Bahans but at heavy civilian casualties as the fighting concentrated in mainly urban areas. Through the writ of the state was to be restored and controlled through political process. 1970s elections which give Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League a clear majority and deserved to be the prime minister of the united Pakistan but unfortunately Z.A. Bhutto refused to accept mandate of the Bangladeshis and created deliberate hurdles to foil the peace full transfer of power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Thus, set the stage for the separation of East Pakistan (Rizvi, 2000).

While Sayeed depicted that Pakistan was making desperate efforts to control the situations in East Pakistan Indian Army already supported the Mukti Bahans declared open war against Pakistan. Now on Eastern Front Pakistan Army was fighting with the insurgent as well as with Indian Army Betrayal of so called "Friends" and political Failure resulted in the defeat in Eastern theatre, while on the western front; the Pakistan Army fought valiantly. December 1971 to 16, Lt. Gen A.A.K. Nazki, the commander of the Pak Army, located in East Pakistan, signed the Indian Army's weapon and thus handed over 93,000 Pakistani Personnels to Indian and Bengali forces to make the largest weapon since World War II. After the separation of East Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto captured two other positions as President and the first civilian head of Pakistan Martial Law Administration. Later on he was elected Prime Minister of the country but in 1977, there was a great unrest in the country and his government was overthrown by General Zia ul Haq, the then Chief of Army Staff. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged on the charge of murdering a politician named Nawab Mahmood Kasuri (1954).

### **Political Maneuvering of Musharraf**

Musharraf, like his predecessors, on the agenda of political reform, the local government, LFO (Legal Framework Order) formed the National Security Council and Economic Reforms. Musharraf shocked global politics that strengthened the 9/11 episode. Due to external support Musharraf was ruled out by the government. 1. Built-in country self-reliance and spirit: Seven-point agenda and soon after their takeover, political support, chief executive, who pledged to follow the seven-point agenda. 2. strengthening the Federation take the benevolence dissonance

away and restore the national unity. 3. Economy survivors and investors' confidence. 4. Make sure to make peace and instant justice dissipate. 5. Depoliticize State Institutions. 6. The center of power at the lower level. 7. Make sure to instantly ride and transversely ride accountability (2006).

### **Media in Pakistan**

Press which is considered the fourth pillar of the state being wide value of press have a great role in shaping opinion of the people and guiding the people free media providing more information to the Masses but unfortunately Pakistan media have seen many resistances for reaching today's place in the country. The Media has faced much censorship during dictatorship time and also in some democratic arena through Advertising. Pakistani media have vibrant landscape among the most dynamics in South Asia. Media freedom in Pakistan is complicated; journalists are free to report on most things. However, criticism on Government or Army and related security agencies is censoring any article itself (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

### **Media Freedom in Pakistan**

Jahangir, Khan & Hussain explains the Constitution of Pakistan guarantees freedom of opinion by considering an incredible right freedom and freedom of every citizen. In media movement in Pakistan, at least at least other Asian states enjoy freedom, claiming. In addition to government-administered electronic media (Pakistan Television and Radio Pakistan) hundreds of news and entertainment hundreds of news and entertainment channels, more than 70 private TV channels and 115 radio channels and in print media, there are over 952 newspapers and periodicals are providing nearly 86 million viewers. Similarly, hundreds of newspapers and magazines are published in the country and services are being provided to millions. During the government's judicial move, some of the TV channels were put off on the basis of 2007, the country's prime minister's TV channel Geo TV when researcher supported and accused of spreading anarchy in the country (UNESCO, 2011).

However, there are such incidents. There are some other groups like Karachi-based political parties Motahidda Qoumi Movement, establishment and militant groups' threats to put their interests on duty. Being a multilingual state with an integrated class system, the media in Pakistan is based on the same rating. English media is for elite and extreme society (therefore influenced by influential but powerful English language print class contexts, electronic media in English is unavailable. Three more projects include Geo English Daily News Dawn and Express 24/7 Due to low visibility and heavy financial loss. PTV is now started in English, which can assume maintaining the market pressure due to its public property), Urdu media is lower and medium-class people (numerical big audience) and local language media for large for ethnic groups (Punajabi, Suryaiki, Pashtun, Sindhi in the country and Balochi). In print media, there are more than 952 newspapers and magazines, 761 Urdu, 84 are English newspapers, 2 are Punjabi language newspaper, 17 are Pushto language newspapers, 26 are Sindhi linguistic newspapers and 13 are Balochi linguistic newspaper. Major newspaper groups are daily wars, Dawn, Nova Times, Express, Daily Times, Khabrein. Each of these groups owns the TV channels. At present, ownership of cross-media is a common trend in Pakistan (UNESCO, 2011 P.6)

Four major conglomerates have monopolized Pakistan's media scape; Jang Group (owning Jang, The News, Geo TV network and a number of magazines), Nawa-e-Waqat Group (Nawai-e-Waqat, The Nation, Waqat TV and magazines), Herald Group (Dawn newspaper, Herald magazine and Dawn TV) and Express Group (express newspaper, express news and entertainment TV channels). Few other media groups like The Daily Times Group (Daily Times, Aaj Kal, Business

Plus, Zaiqa TV), Jaag Broadcasting (Samaa TV, Samaa FM), ARY network (ARY News, ARY digital, ARY Music) have also mushroomed in the last decade or so and are quite successful in earning a niche in the media market (Rahman, 2012).

Three newspapers Jang (1942), Dawn (1944) and Nawa-e-Waqat (1940) were established before the independence of Pakistan and played a significant role in the liberation movement for being voice of the Muslims in the united India. These newspapers highlighted the Muslim cause and promoted Muslim nationalism for demanding a separate homeland in the Indian sub-continent. After independence, media in Pakistan was envious of national security and territorial integrity. Even today, like elsewhere in the world, Pakistan media is patriotic, endogenous and issues of national interests are on highest agenda. In researcher opinion Pakistan Media is considered as first line of defense of the country and also the defender of ideological borders being fourth pillar of the state, but unfortunately due to irresponsible behavior and by disregarding the national interest, some portion in the media acts as fifth columnist rather than being fourth pillar cited in Press Commission, 1954 (Hussain, 2020).

However, the media reportage is not free from controversies. In fact, politicians, military and other interest groups have serious reservations against the conduct media for various reasons. Media in Pakistan is often criticized for being non-professional, politically biased and too occupied with political wrangling and security conflicts. However, as the same report clarifies that developments in these two domains are so fast and intense that journalists have to focus to these, otherwise their competitors will outdo them (cited from the Lecture of Dr Zafar, 2015).

### **Press Censorship in Pakistan**

Historically, media laws in Pakistan can be traced back to 1860's press laws that were basically enacted to ensure that media do not disrupt the social order as imposed by the colonial masters. After the creation of Pakistan, these laws were found to be useful and remained enforced till 1960 during General Ayub era. Before the military coup of General Ayub Khan in 1958, the politico-bureaucratic administration has unleashed the press muzzling process and in the initial seven years of Pakistan's existence, as many as 31 newspapers were confiscated for allegations ranging from being unpatriotic, creating social disruption and leaking the state secrets. In 1963, new media regulations were introduced in the form of Press and Publication Ordinance. Typical of a military dictator, there were very stringent provisions in the ordinance motivated by the idea to stem the flow of dissent to his authority. The Ordinance called for the imprisonment, confiscation and other retaliatory steps if media disturbed peace and tranquility in society. During this era, dissenting journalists were punished and media owners threatened. Due to paucity of funds for private media organizations (in those times only few newspapers and news agencies were functioning), they had to either close their offices or depend on government for finances and hence toe the government line. Next decade (in 1970s), when democracy returned to Pakistan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed office, press-government relations were never smooth as expected. Journalists were coerced and news offices pressured for raising the dissent and not agreeing to the government agenda. The PPP government vigorously used the state-controlled media to silence the political opposition (Niazi, 1986 p, 7).

However, dark days were yet to come and when in 1977 the military dictator General Zia ul Haq staged a coup, the scene was on. He made heinous changes in the Press and Publication Ordinance to ensure that nothing of his dislike is published. Fearing a political reprisal coupled with his ideological leanings, media people were mercilessly put to rigorous imprisonment for 'publishing undesirable content' (Mezzer & Sial, 2010). After his death in an air crash, when

democratic era started, some provisions of PPO were stricken down to allow for a free media in the country. Even in this era, there are examples of government coercing journalists (Friday Times Editor Najam Sethi reprimanded for his pro-India stance, Jang newspaper not allowed to import paper).

When the third military dictator General Pervez Musharraf toppled the democratic government in 1999 and usurped political power, unlike the past, he allowed free media in Pakistan. Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, a former information minister says, “the credit for the mushroom growth of private TV channels and free media goes to General Musharraf.” General Musharraf believed that private media sector would better highlight national perspective and the image of Pakistan as a progressive state in the face of various regional and global challenges. He was wary of the fact that during Kargil saga, India won the media war through its powerful private media. Likewise, in the ensuing war on terror, a vibrant Pakistani media will successfully raise national perspective in the global forum. Added to this, was his vision of enlightened moderation that called for openness and realism in national affairs. During his tenure till 2008, more than 60 TV channels were operating in the country, informing people about all the important issues without any serious obstacles from his regime. It was however, his decision to depose Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry that earned him the wrath of the nation. The media openly championed the cause of judiciary and was always present to provide a detailed account of the activities of lawyers and other sympathizers. The media played a crucial role in changing public opinion against the regime’s decision to depose the Chief Justice, which ultimately brought its downfall (Fair, 2010). Next, the media castigated even the democratic government of Pakistan People’s Party by showing a knee-jerk reaction to the restoration of Chief Justice. The government was pressured to take the decision of restoring Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry in 2008 (Mezzera & Sial, 2010). Shapiro & Fair (2010) believes though media needs recognition for its service during the whole movement; however, it should not cross the limit by actively engaging in political decision-making.

Media in Pakistan is reckoned a force and duly acknowledged. Though the political history of the country is replete with military takeovers and the concomitant curbs on the press, it has survived and retained a basic structure of a liberal media system due to the commitment and sacrifices rendered by media people. At present, media laws in Pakistan are progressive and ensure media freedom and individual liberty (Niazi, 1986).

## **Objectives**

1. To know that how the role of Paki army is framed in the selected news media
2. To know the differences between the selected news media while reporting on Pak Military.

## **Significance of the Study**

While Framing, literature provides a remarkable amount of study on a large number of major issues in Pakistan, what has been exclusively analyzed by Pakistan Army's image in a single study media reporting? This research is designed to communicate how comprehensive communication media is reported in real case studies, factors that have been able to communicate with this report and determine how to and how and to what extent There, a supervisor at the state and neutral at this point of view. It is a research that will come with both theoretical educational benefits to identify the media content in a limited free scenario and also to practice the practice of practicing how Pakistan is practicing. Hopefully, such a study will improve our understanding of the problem in

a very hand-hand and will be helpful for policy makers, strategies, military personnel and key academic students for this strategy.

### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Following research and hypotheses would be posed and answered during the course of this study.

R.Q.1: How does the press portray the image of Pak Army?

R.H.1: News media would favorably portray the image of Pak army.

R.Q.2: Do two newspapers report differently on the Pak Army.

R.H.2: The Daily Jang would be more critical of the Army than Daily Dawn.

### **Literature Review**

Many communication researchers have analyzed that tight control exercised by the elite groups on media. This study builds on the base that like the western society con of control on media in Pakistan is same the corporate sector is even more than. According to critical theorist Van IJzendoorn & Juffer that in many cases media news is convinced, manipulation, or even forced to follow the ideas of the elite on international affairs. The agreement between journalists and politicians can be combined with a political perspective, in the construction of disclosure, financial incentives, fine threats, or revenge action in the world, prior to the current political situation. This is primarily praised by the situation that is part of public opinion manufacturing.

However, such challenges remained within the framework fixed by the editorial policies of flexible but clear border newspaper organizations, whose core ideologies are in agreement with those of the other electrical elite (2006).

The views of Van believe that there is no question that the media are governed by these powerful leaders. Rather, it can be said that their joint theories are jointly created, every influence is based on its own scope of control and control, but also on the other. Foreign policy without support from the press can hardly be legitimated and retain and the corporate lobby is difficult to apply when applying them. International Business is seriously influenced by bad publicity or firm state commitment. And on the contrary, the media cannot work without the support of mainstream news political and corporate elite (2015).

### **Military-Media relations in Pakistan**

Historically, in Pakistan, the influence of Army on Media is of a restrictive nature. Media usually avoid to cross the red line imposed by the Army and suffers whenever it does. Before the military coup of General Ayub Khan in 1958, the politico-bureaucratic administration has unleashed the press muzzling process and in the initial seven years of Pakistan's existence, as many as 31 newspapers were confiscated for allegations ranging from being unpatriotic, creating social disruption and leaking the state secrets. In 1963, new media regulations were introduced in the form of Press and Publication Ordinance by General Ayub Khan. There was very stringent provision in the ordinance motivated by the idea to stem the flow of dissent to his authority. The Ordinance called for the imprisonment, confiscation and other retaliatory steps if media disturbed peace and tranquility in society. In 1977, the army dictator General Zia ul Haq staged a coup and made changes in the Press and Publication Ordinance to ensure that nothing of his dislike is published (Niazi, 1986).

Fearing a political reprisal coupled with his ideological leanings, media people were put to rigorous imprisonment for 'publishing undesirable content' (Mezzera & Sial). When the third

military dictator General Pervez Musharraf toppled the democratic government in 1999 and usurped political power, unlike the past, he allowed free media in Pakistan. However soon, he found himself on a cross a current with the free media and imposed many restraints in media. A part of military periods in government, during democratic stints, media has critically reported on the current conflicts in FATA and Balochistan. One of the most influential communication theory and research techniques to discuss the elite's role over media is frame analysis. A rich course of literature is available on the subject and the researcher will here try to summarize the key aspects of this approach (2010)

According to Entman (2003), there are services that serve abstract concepts or to form social meaning. Frames influence the audience's audience. The cognitive shortcuts used for the help of people are that frames realize complex information. Frames help us interpret the world around us and represent the world. Framing benefited for us manage difficult phenomenon in reasonable understanding. Framers mean by making people easier by selecting, filtering concepts and providing them with a field of viewpoint. The structures of the frames communication lead to accepting a meaning of others. Explains this process to a communication source and there is a problem or the construction of a dispute.

Social scientist Gregory Bateson used two important aspects of the first communication in the term "Frame": (1) Frames allow a person to interpret and evaluate a message that cognitive Model (i.e., understand what the "family" is). In the case of Bateson, the cognitive models are particularly interested experts, that are culturally compromised, that are durable, and durable forces that are common. (2) Frames are messages about "meta communications" or messages. For example, a news media story indicates government programs as "handouts", but the cultural model of this lazy mind, but not sad. Bateson's sensations of the "frame" are keys to both strategic frame analyses (1955).

## **Case Studies**

Two Pakistani researchers Siraj and Shabbir discussed the problems faced by the Pakistan reporters while covering the Taliban conflict and found that military was determining the nature of reporting of this conflict. The Taliban conflict is primarily reported from military perspective and issues that hamper the efforts of Pakistan army are completely rejected from media discourse. His study has discussed the Taliban's ongoing conflict with the view of peace journalism and analyzed Pakistan's leading newspapers on this issue and found an important source of warfare. Directed by media sensitivity and market forces as media in Pakistan, controversy has reduced dramatically to only two groups, thus minimizing the possibility of reconciliation. Peace journalist prepared by peace research has been reproduced for mass coverage on the backward background and background of war journalism. Overall, this research through a material analysis method and the peace media framework theory, indicates many other researchers as conflict scenes, to conventional media warfare and reduce peace-friendly relations. Coverage, such conflicts increased (2012).

In another study, analyzed the framing of the Taliban conflict in Pakistan media and found preponderance of pro-military frames and a complete neglect of the common people who are the real sufferers in this conflict. The researcher with field observation Combined Critical Analysis Text Media cover the ongoing conflict with the Taliban in the northwest of the country for how to investigate Pakistan. Using ideology frameworks as its ideological basis, the survey found that the enemy of the Pakistani Taliban was presenting them primarily responsible for ongoing violence in the country, keeping them within the frame of the picture. Is there the trend of media was denied

showing more interest in 'tribal flow', more than a preliminary statement of a large humanitarian crisis in the dispute, referring to a tribal context? The Peace Journal Model is limited by the Clarified Media (Adkins & Shabbir, 2014).

So far, the above studies have revealed that Pakistan media is positively framing army for its role in the war on terrorism. But, as discussed earlier, Pakistan army has been an active political actor in Pakistan and it would be interesting to know that the political role of the army is reported in media. Islam & Shoaib investigated this question in her thesis on the media framing strategies of the imposition of emergency in 2007 by the then military ruler General Pervez Musharraf. The researcher found that media was emphatic in its criticism of the military ruler and adopted strongest tones, and the clearest positioning. There is no one except Musharraf's desire for power just for one reason for the emergency to open the media. Time and then, the media held responsible for the political crisis of Pakistan. He said, "run away" is presented as an interest in American policies, and is interested in maintaining its power at the cost of the nation only. He said that it is controversial and compared to previous country dictators. No such direct criticism against Musharraf could be compared to these claims. In addition, to believe in this perspective usually sounds with many Pakistanis who have come to the military and government's political goals, also directed towards self-aggrandizement at the cost of national interest Taking PCO and Emergency allows the freedom of holding independent and fair elections, allowing freedom of expression and civil discrimination, and opposition to political participation: All papers, regardless of political ideology, Call to take the government out of the same set of actions (2008).

Written about the attack on Hamid Mir, renowned Pakistani scholars, Shahid Javaid Bakiqi, from which Pakistan will prove to be the country's hope that a political structure is trying to build, a number of error lines at the top say naked. Many forces are competing for the influence of the drama and are not fully prepared to work within a coordinated legal framework. Many big businessmen set control over some of the media to promote their commercial interests. Regulator In the case of television, Pakistan Electronic Media Authority - a valid implementation framework and the boundaries of the case law, without which the television channels did not prepare the necessary explanation. Journalist community newspapers and newspapers have not felt responsible for checking their facts before appearing on television screens. The intelligence community – the ISI – operates in the national interest for the national security (Article in Daily Dawn 2014).

Dorman & Farhan focused on the American press coverage of the New York Times on the Christian Science Monitor from 1951-1978, the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Chicago Tribune, and the Los Angeles Times presented various ways in different times. Was observed by the American mainstream press. Being the uses most important strategic allies, was the largest recipient of US weapons and economic assistance in Iran in the Shah regime. Over 40,000 American soldiers and civilian officials were working in Iran. He concluded that "the United States integration with King, the press-government was to serve the goals of Washington's blind policy by presenting political opposition" was nothing more than the conclusion. Press and policymakers emphasized that when the insurgency was inspired by the genocide and anti-modern Muslims that the image was completely converted into the 1978 Revolution. He claimed that the export of Khomeini government is terrorism. Apart from analyzing their public opinion, Khomeini has exported terrorism. In addition to analyzing the opinions of their people, the media and the American government kept preaching that the American people preached various stereotypes (Article in New York Times, 1987).

In a related study Shamil Shamsi investigated the propaganda launched by the Pakistan security establishment against the Taliban. The study is mediation where analyzes the anti-Taliban

narrative in media texts. This Dawn and Nova I-time uses media reports of Pakistan's leading newspapers and runs an important discussion analysis of the state's propaganda social check-out. The study determines that there is no revolutionary change in Supreme Court / 911 era, which has anti-state anti-Taliban stories with state-of-the-art ideology. The state ideology is 'Islamic' and it is a senseless national security in which both India and India threaten, both real and understand, rotates around it. In Swat propaganda campaign, anti-Taliban traditions served immediate goals to satisfy the militants of the state, although they are immoral in challenging the entire extremist dialogue in Pakistan. Pakistan's war on study terrorist efforts can be investigated in all the dialogues that its argument. Terrorism should be seen as a tactical problem rather than an implicit practice of the state's duality state (Nawaz, 2011).

More specifically relevant to this study, an Indian scholar Prakash (2013) studied Pakistan media reporting of Balochistan conflict and found the coverage more in terms of de-escalatory mode. However, the researcher believed that looking at the situation in the province, the Pakistan media should be more anti-military in its approach, which is not happening at this stage. Consistent with literature, the researcher does not consider it a Pakistan specific problem, though the latter need it most than any other country (Prakash, 2013)

Dr. Zafar Iqbal and Shaista Malik studied the Taliban's image in print media sermons. In the last two years, in Pakistan, the media covered a large scale of Taliban involvement in Pakistan, which at this time, in a national context, to cover extremism in a frame of reference. Media coverage shows that the Taliban takes mostly negative pictures. They may also have some positive signals, but the overall picture is clearly negative. The paper concluded that the media build a negative image of the Taliban in editorial sermons How to build a picture of the Taliban media in the media and the extent of which inspection creates a humiliating and deceptive frame (2015). Quite consistent with the above, many scholars have established that during conflict times, media do not remain objective and impartial and in fact openly side with the powerful. Literature is abounding with studies where the scholars have discussed critically the media role during the World Wars, cold war era and the recent attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq.

## **Methodology**

In this study used quantitative methods to investigate the Army's image in the print media. Quantitative research is a scientific method that deals with the collection and analysis of numerical data by collecting measurable evidence. It collects mathematical models and other techniques to explain the phenomenon. Researchers are interested in data acquisition of a large sample of study articles so that they can expand the result. Quantitative research comprises three types of data collection techniques (a) closed-ended questionnaires (b) secondary data (content analysis) and (c) controlled experiments. Many definitions of content analysis exist in social science research, but R. D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominik have quoted some classical academic definitions of the content analysis. Determine the contents of the record information from any organized procedure as per according to Walizer and Wienir (1978). Krippendorff (1980) explains it as a research technique to make their context applicable and accurate references for the data. Kerlinger's (1986) definition is fairly common: a method of studying and analyzing content analysis is a systematic and intuitive manner for measurement variable's purpose. Content analysis is used as one of the data collection techniques, as intended to discover pure army image. Random sampling technique is used in this study. This study analyzes the Front and the Back pages of two newspapers of Pakistan one of English language and second one of Urdu language. These papers are selected for

the strength of their readership and these include Daily Dawn, and Daily Jang. The sample includes all the news stories about the Pakistan military.

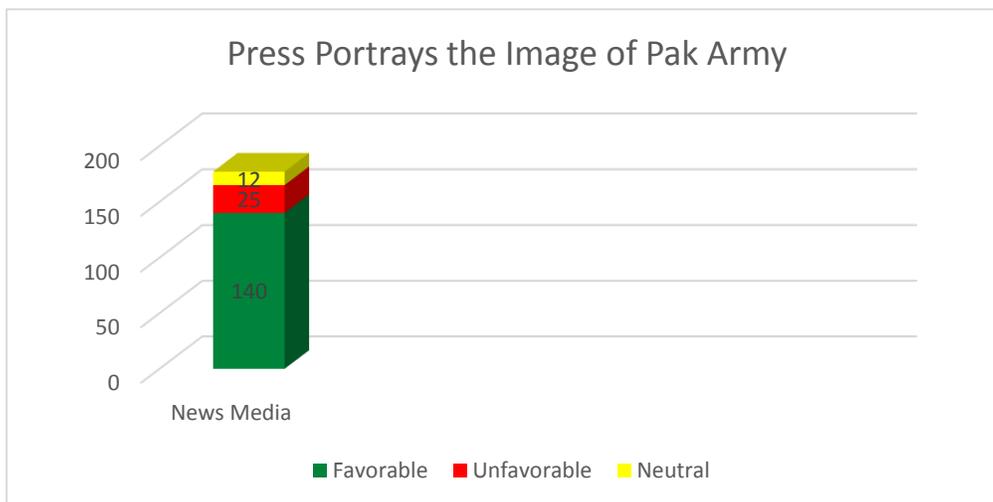
**Data Interpretation**

This study analyzes the quantitative methods to investigate the army's image in the print media. For the analysis, the image of the army the newspapers were counted for one year when these at the highest point while for the discourse analysis part, selected news stories was discursively analyzed. This study will analyze the Front and the back pages of two newspapers of Pakistan one of English language and the second one of Urdu language. The sample includes all the news stories about the Pakistan military.

Total data collected for this research study of both the newspapers of Daily Dawn and Daily Jang commenced from January 2015 to December 31, 2015. According to that, newspaper portrays the image of Pakistani Army positively. According to the Data, the coverage of both the newspapers is favorable for the Pakistan military. Total 177 relevant news stories, 140(80%) news stories which publish in newspaper portray favorably the image of Pak Army which is good and show that the relations between Military and press are positive. On other side 25(14%), news stories were unfavorable of Pak Army which show that the press is not working under the Military pressure. And 12(6%) news stories were neutral.

**Table 1:** press portrays the image of Pak Army

<b>Favorable</b>	<b>Unfavorable</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
140(80%)	25(14%)	12(6%)	177(100%)



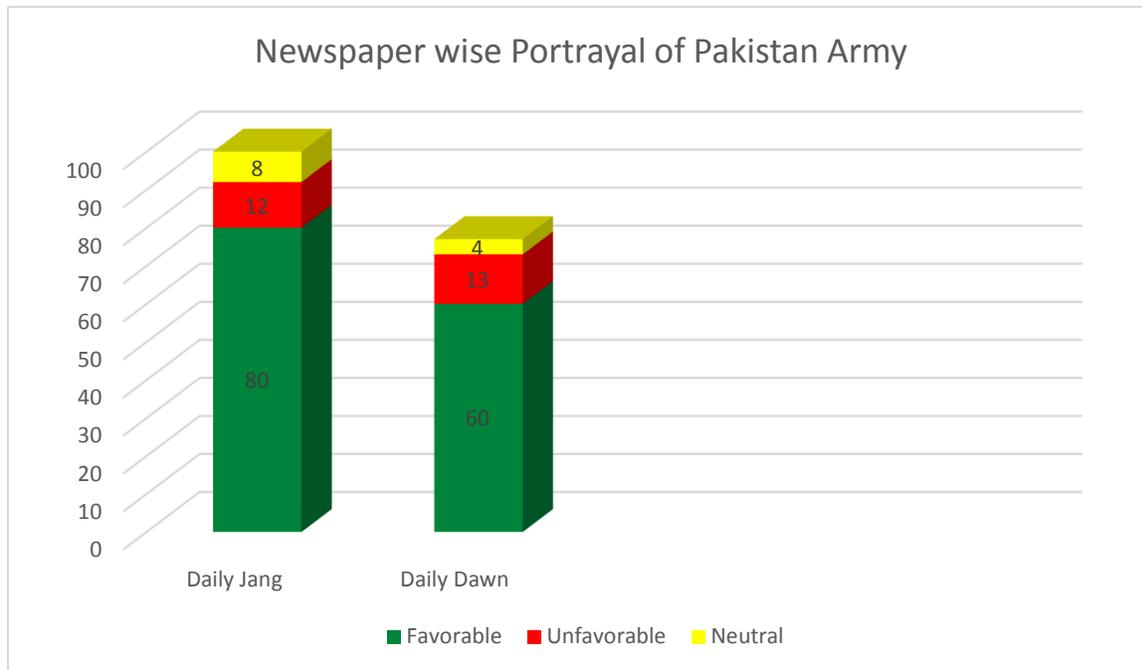
**Image Portrays of Pak Army Newspaper wise**

The overall framing of entire relevant news towards the Pakistan Army both newspaper s coverage. In Daily Jang, Total 100 relevant news stories, 80 was favorable, 12, unfavorable and 8 news

stories were neutral. Similarly, In Daily Dawn total relevant 77 news, 60 were favorable, 13 unfavorable and 4 were neutral.

The Daily Jang Published 100 news stories in which 80(80%) favorably portray the Pak Army and 12(12%) news stories unfavorably portraying the Pak Army and 8(8%) news stories were published neutral. Daily Dawn which have 77 news stories published in which 60(77%) are favorable to Pak Army, 13(16%) news stories unfavorably portaging the Pak Army that the Daily Dawn more critical than daily Jang and 4(5%) news stories are Neutral. The both newspaper are favorably portraying the Pak Army in during time of Analysis.

**Table 2:** Newspaper wise coverage of Pakistan Army



Newspapers	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Total
Daily Jang	80(80%)	12(12%)	8(8%)	100
Daily Dawn	60(77%)	13(16%)	4(5%)	77

### Portrayal of Pak Army Topic wise

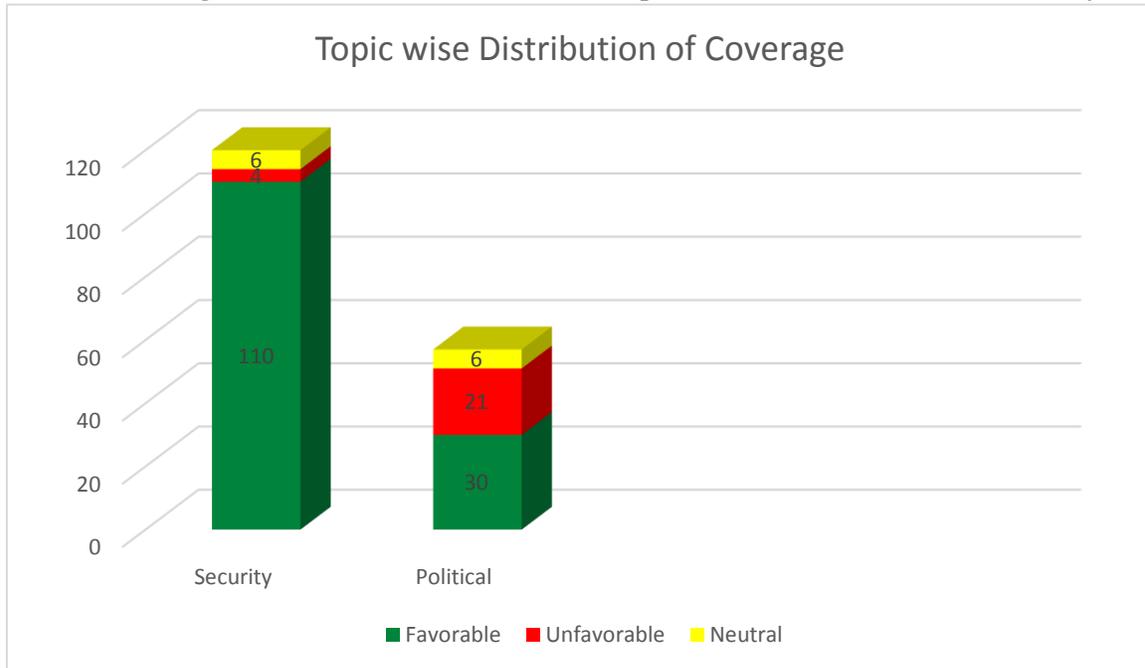
The overall framing of entire relevant news stories topic wise towards the Pakistan Army in both newspapers are discussed favorably that the coverage of both newspapers in favor of Pakistan Army regarding Security wise and politically intervention wise.

In the news media, topic wise portraying is total 177 where security wise news stories are 120 and Pak Army intervention in politics topic wise news stories are 57.

**Table 3:** Topic wise Distribution of Coverage

Topics	favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Total
Security	110 (91%)	4 (3%)	6 (5%)	120
Political	30 (52%)	21 (37%)	6 (10%)	57

The overall framing of entire relevant news stories topic wise towards the Pakistan Army in both



newspapers are discussed favorably that the coverage of both newspapers in favor of Pakistan Army regarding Security wise and politically intervention wise. In the news media, topic wise portraying is total 177 where security wise news stories are 120 and Pak Army intervention in politics topic wise news stories are 57.

From the table, No 3 where media discussed the role of Pak Army in security issues related India, Afghanistan conflict and war on terror the news media supported the Pak Army stance again these issues on national and international level the news media give a full coverage to Pak Army and they presented as heroes of the country and also support the military stance on any issues regarding which or consider threat for our national interest. That the news media or these both dailies 91% published favorable news stories about the Pak Army 4(3%) unfavorable portaging the Pak Army and 6(5%) neutrally portaging the Pak Army in news media.

Beside from the table no 3. That the news media giving favorable portray the Pak Army intervention in the politics which is topic wise news stories 30(52%) which shown news media or is favor of Army intervention in the politics which is not true for the nation of Pakistan because we are not be able to compete the world because the rest of three dictators , Ayoub Khan, Zia ul Haq and Musharraf put the country in some un resolving problems like terrorism, internal wars, creating miss understanding among the people of Pakistan. The dictators Musharraf create a gap among The Pak Army and the People of Baluchistan, And FATA the people and some Political leaders considering the Pak Army as A threat for Baloch Nation and they are still fighting again own Military as an enemy when political institution are strong than the nation of those country are

free choosing of their leaders and also have counting among the prudent nation. Beside it a good stance that news media have portray unfavorable 21(37%) intervention of Pak Army in the politics when any institution work under optional terms than all institution are seeing that they are serving for the nation as Mohammad Ali Jinnah Said “Do not forget that the armed forces are the servants of the people. You do not make national policy; it is we, the civilians, who decide these issues and it is your duty to carry out these tasks with which you are entrusted.

## DISCUSSION

This is an age of media and no one can deny the role of media in contemporary society. Since its beginning the media have particular agenda to follow and every media organization has its own agenda which defines the specific portrayal of any issue in many ways. Mass media has greater role in sustainability of democracy in the world similarly; Pakistani media electronic and print media has an integral role in current political scenario of the state. While analyzing the content of the print media, the findings of several studies shown that different media groups treated the two cases in different way in term of framing and the placement of the relevant stories. This is very obvious practice in Pakistan that the media have been monitored by the powerful stakes. The researcher investigated the image of Pakistan army in general prospective incidents by analyzing by two Newspapers. The data generated from this endeavor is now tested by the following research questions and hypotheses.

### Research Questions and Hypotheses

R.Q.1: How the press portrays the image of Pak Army?

R.H.1: News media would favorably portray the image of Pak army.

R.Q.2: Do two newspapers report differently on the Pak Army?

R.H.2: The Daily Jang would be more critical of the army than Daily Dawn.

R.Q.3: How in terms of security and political topics the role of Pakistani army is famed in the news media?

Answers to these research questions and hypotheses follows.

Research Question 1: The first research question contained one embedded research hypotheses.

R.H.1: Regarding the first hypothesis, Pakistan media predominantly favored the stance of army and portrayed it favorably as evident from the below table 1. The news media was united in for supporting the stance of Military in portraying in the news media. news media supported the military action the militant and the interferences in the politics the media criticized the rest of institutions and supported the military.

**Table 1:** press portrays the image of Pak Army

Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Total
140(80%)	25(14%)	12(6%)	177(100%)

Research Question 2: The second research question contained one embedded research hypotheses.

R.H.2: Regarding the second hypothesis, the news media portray the Pak Army different from each other the selected newspaper for the analysis of study both newspaper framing are different news media portray Pak Army is favorably as evident from the below table 2.

**Table 2:** Newspaper wise coverage of Pakistan Army

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>Favorable</b>	<b>Unfavorable</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
Daily Jang	80(80%)	12(12%)	8(8%)	100
Daily Dawn	60(77%)	13(16%)	4(5%)	77

Research question No 3: the third research question regarding this news media portray the topic wise favorably portray Pak Army security wise and political wise favorably as evident from the below table 3. The news media favor of Pak Army in the intervention of political decision the news media supported in security issues. The news media show sympathy with Pak Army martyred and injured soldiers and support the military actions against the militants.

**Table 3:** Topic wise Distribution of Coverage

<b>Topics</b>	<b>favorable</b>	<b>Unfavorable</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
Security	110 (91%)	4 (3%)	6 (5%)	120
Political	30 (52%)	21 (37%)	6 (10%)	57

## CONCLUSION

The present study is a content analysis of two different newspapers of Urdu and English version whereas; both of the papers were belonged to different groups of media having absolute difference in their ideology and policy. From the review of content is depicted that daily Jang, the Urdu newspaper followed the Pakistan Army related stories in more positive manner and framed the little number of stories in unfavorable and neutral way. Whereas, the daily dawn treated the army related issues in less favorably as compared with daily Jang newspaper. The findings of the study justified the agenda of media that media highlights the army related issues positively in Pakistan. Adkins and Shabbir (2014) analyzed the framing of the Taliban conflict in Pakistan media and found preponderance of pro-military frames and a complete neglect of the common people who are the real sufferers in this conflict. The researcher with field observation Combined Critical Analysis Text Media cover the ongoing conflict with the Taliban in the northwest of the country for how to investigate Pakistan.

Due to its huge leverage on all institutions in Pakistan, there is a dominant belief in Pakistan that media in Pakistan has no option but to oblige the strong army. This study is first attempt to investigate critically about the veracity of such a claim. Media scholarship believe that obedience to stronger institutions in any country always vary; so, in some cases, the army may be favorably framed but in many, if the action is out of routine affairs, it would be condemned, no matter how strong is the reaction. Keeping in view the above assertion, the researcher has formulated research questions and addressed in the analysis chapter.

Foreign policy without support from the press can hardly be legitimated and retain and the corporate lobby is difficult to apply when applying them. International Business is seriously influenced by bad publicity or firm state commitment. And on the contrary, the media cannot work without the support of mainstream political and corporate elite. In the overall coverage, the Army's issues related to security got more favorable slant and were framed positively. Furthermore, the political role was criticized as unfavorable. The unfavorable slant about political role of the army is obvious in all over the world however; in Pakistan settings, this is not easy to criticize the political role of the Pak-army. Pakistani Media would be positively reporting the image of Pakistan if there is no politics by the army personnel, whenever army take any political role in Pakistan, media criticized army but not in strict manner due to some certain national security reasons. Data

of the study depicts that Pakistani media has portrayed the security issues on a larger scale and other army related i.e. military operations against terrorism in the different parts of Pakistan, interferences in politics of Pak Army also the high frequency story of news media portraying. One year's from January 2015 to December 31, 2015 data collected from both newspaper i.e. Daily Jang and Daily Dawn showed after its measurement that newspaper portrays the image of Pakistani Army positively. As there were 177 relevant news stories, out of which, 140(80%) was favorable, 25(14%), unfavorable whereas, 12(6%) news stories were found neutral. Findings of the study also made comparison of overall framing of entire relevant news towards the Pakistan Army by both newspapers' coverage which showed that Daily Jang, published total 100 relevant news stories whereby eighty (80%) was favorable, 12%, unfavorable and 8% news stories were neutral. On the other hand, the Daily Dawn an English newspaper gave place to seventy-seven 77 relevant news stories where sixty 60(77%) were favorable, 13(16%) unfavorable and 4(5%) were neutral.

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